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Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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TO SUBSCRIBERS OF HARIJAN WEEKLIES

The annual subscription of those friends who, in response to an appeal last year, enrolled their names as subscribers expires in February-March next. I request them to renew their subscription before the date of its expiry. To those who will not be sending their subscription in time, the last number will be sent by V. P. P. I hope that they will honour the V. P. P. and thus express their love for the Weeklies.

Ahmedabad, 31-1-'53

JIVANJI D. DESAI
Managing Trustee

A GRIEVOUS ERROR OF JUDGMENT

(*By Maganbhai P. Desai*)

We learn from the Press that the Union Finance Minister said at Poona the other day that the Bombay Government which would require Rs. 6 to 7 crores for fighting the famine ought to make funds available by reconsidering its Prohibition policy; and he was very reluctant to spare any more funds from the crores that will be required to feed the F. Y. Plan, as he feared it would upset its apple-cart.

To say the least, this appears to be a very hasty statement on the part of the Union Minister. Firstly, it is neither sound economy nor good ethics to seek to make money out of the moral and social ruination and utter misery of thousands of poor families, by supplying drink which is no function of a State.

There are other objections too equally serious against such a public statement. It is a question how far it is proper etiquette on the part of a Union Minister to thus interfere in a public manner in the settled policies of a State and in a subject which is scheduled for it. Surely it is extra-constitutional.

Further it is against the declared policy of the Congress as also the Directive Principles of the Constitution of India to go back in any manner upon Prohibition. Would it not be almost insulting the Constitution? It is not proper discipline as well. Surely, Shri Deshmukh has committed a grievous error of judgment in speaking as he has been reported to have done regarding the Prohibition policy of the Bombay State.

30-1-'53

WHEN SHOULD THE CHANGE BE EFFECTED?

(*By Arvindlal L. Majumdar*)

Almost everyone is agreed that English cannot now, under the entirely changed circumstances, continue to remain the medium of instruction in the Universities for any appreciable length of time. That the change is necessary, nay overdue, in the interest of sound education and national aspirations is acknowledged by almost all. The questions, therefore, now arise: (1) When should the change be effected? (2) What medium should be adopted — the regional language or Hindi?

Let us take up the first question first. Two questions are raised against the change by some: (1) Have we books either in Hindi or in regional languages suitable for use in colleges? (2) Where are the professors who can efficiently handle their subjects in the regional or the federal language? To the first question there is a natural and logical reply: Books are not going to fall from heavens! What writer or publisher would care to bring out college books in Gujarati or Marathi or Bengali when there is no market for it? If a University decides that from a particular year instruction will commence in a particular language, books are sure to flow soon into the market. It is a simple question of demand and supply. The University can also invite writers in the first instance, to produce books in the required language on reasonable payment. The Gujarat University has taken such a step, and other Universities can follow suit and get books written or translated.

A further likely objection will be: "These will be mere text-books. What about hundreds of reference books? They are all in English. The student has not merely to study the text books; but he should also have an opportunity to avail himself of the best reference books on a subject, which are all in English." Now in the first place, to be quite candid — or rather unabashedly outspoken, our system of education has been so ill-fashioned and rotten to the core that it is no exaggeration to say that a vast majority of college students do not study even the text-books. They merely read notes and guides and manage to scrap through the process of being 'higher educated'. As to the reference books how many

students in the colleges avail themselves of them if at all recommended by their professors? But let us suppose that the situation is not so bad and that the reference books are in great demand — as really it ought to be. The logical course for a University then is that such reference books should be got translated by the institution of Translation Bureaus. The Centre may be asked to contribute its mite and other expenses could be defrayed locally or by means of public donations. What every other nation has been doing could and should be done by us. In course of time native talent would sprout forth and there will be lesser and lesser demand for translated books, as original books are bound to come forth with the passage of time.

Thus the want of suitable text-books and reference books may be an obstacle, but it is not a blind alley. The obstacle has to be got over, and the first step in that direction is, as stated, fixing a time limit after which instruction *must* be given in a particular language, and we have legitimate hopes that difficulties in this direction will rapidly vanish, perhaps much sooner than expected by us.

"But where are the professors? Can the present day professors handle the subjects in regional or Hindi language efficiently?" True; being taught and trained entirely through English, these professors would find it at first a stupendous task to teach in their mother tongue, (what a sad comment, alas! on our education!) or Hindi. But gradually, within the course of a year or two they will be able to adjust themselves to the new medium. Whenever we shall try to bring over the change, this difficulty is bound to crop up. It is a difficulty of a transitional stage. The students instructed by such professors in the regional or Hindi language will, in their turn, when they become professors, naturally be more at home in the new medium. If the process is not started at all, whence are the professors thoroughly efficient in and capable of teaching in the native media going to be obtained?

The question then resolves into this: 'When should the change be effected?' The reply should be: 'Well, at the earliest possible date! If you can start the process in 1953, don't wait for 1954.' The reasons are obvious. Firstly, when it is generally accepted that the change *has* to be made, a start must be made better sooner than later. Unless a start is made, difficulties, small or big, are never going to resolve themselves on their own. Secondly, even now there is an all-round complaint that the standard of English has greatly deteriorated and the process of deterioration is becoming increasingly rapid. The naive contention by some protagonists of English that this is due to the less attention being paid to the teaching of English at the Secondary Stage is on the face of it baseless, since the batches of boys who have studied through a regional language are still to arrive at the University. The main reason for such 'deterioration' is the intense resurgence in Indian languages that has set in as a result of national movements for the last thirty years. Hundreds of books in the regional languages come out every year, and even most of the college students studying through English at present read more of the literature in their mother tongue than in English, and they hardly care to go to the "reference books" written in solid English. In short, the point is that even today much that is taught in colleges through English is a mere waste and if students manage to get through, it is because they mug up notes and questions-answers and just reach upto the level of 30 or 35 per cent of the required minimum. Is this not the strongest reason for an early change of the medium?

The situation is going to be more serious in the near future when students who have learnt every subject through their mother tongue get into colleges. All the learned perorations of the learned professors will run waste on them. It is for this reason that Shri B. G. Kher, the ex-Minister for Education of Bombay is reported to have requested the Universities of the Bombay State to think of having such a change-over latest from 1955. It would be almost criminal on the part of the Bombay State University authorities to stick to the English medium in such circumstances.

There is yet another reason for a rapid change-over. The Constitution has laid down that for 15 years from January 1950 — less than 12 years from now — English shall remain the official language. But that does not mean, as the protagonists of English would have us believe, that for 15 years there should be no change. It is in order to have a sufficient margin for a transition that this period is provided for. If schools and colleges do not change the medium, whence can we have a personnel efficient to handle education, communication, etc. in the regional or federal language? At the end of *eleven* years from now — not *fifteen* years — we shall exactly be where we are today.

All this tends to show that it is the duty of every University to make an initial move, and combat whatever difficulties may arise in the way, firmly and resolutely. The time for a change-over is overdue, and mental laziness and time-bound prejudices of the intelligentsia that dominate the University spheres today must give way to willingness to natural adjustment in the interest of sound education, students and the nation.

(To be continued)

Bombay,
20-1-'53

BASIC EDUCATION
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HINDI IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF SOUTH INDIA

(*By S. R. Sastri, M. A., B. O. L., Madras*)

By the Constitution of India, it has been accepted that Hindi, as the Federal Language, has to take the All-India role after 15 years. By then, Hindi will acquire great importance in the All-India sphere. The Central Government at Delhi will have Hindi as its official language. Deliberations of the Indian Parliament will be conducted in Hindi. For all Inter-State correspondence, Hindi will be used. Knowledge of Hindi will be a requisite qualification for Military, Postal and other All-India services. Without the knowledge of Hindi, journalists will find it difficult to carry on their profession. In brief, in all the fields of All-India character, knowledge of Hindi will be indispensable. Hindi is, in one or other of its various forms like Khadiboli, Vrajabhasha, Avadhi etc., understood by nearly 75 per cent of our population. Non-Hindi population is mainly confined to South India. Even though Bengal and Bombay States come under non-Hindi areas, the languages spoken there i. e., Marathi, Gujarati and Bengali are all Aryan languages, akin to Hindi, and Hindi may be picked up in a short time with the least labour. If the South Indian boys and girls are not given a suitable opportunity of learning Hindi in their school days, they will be seriously handicapped in the field of All-India services. Hence adequate provision should be made for learning Hindi in schools.

2. In the Madras State, the period of school or Secondary Education is divided into three stages: (1) Elementary School — 5 years, (2) Middle School — 3 years, (3) High School — 3 years. No one, not even the fanatic supporters of Hindi, wish that Hindi should be introduced in the Elementary stage in South India. It is absolutely essential that the children should live and learn only in the atmosphere or surroundings of their own mother tongue — Tamil, Telugu, Kannada or Malayalam. Minor dialects, such as Tulu, Pattunul, Konkani etc. should be suppressed in the larger interests of the country. Only the four well developed Dravidian languages should be encouraged in schools.

3 But while it is agreed by all that good provision for teaching Hindi should be made only in the Middle and High School stages, there exists a wide divergence of opinion whether Hindi should be taught compulsorily or optionally in these two stages. Some argue that Hindi should not be thrust on the unwilling students, who may not leave their district or province at all and hence for whom Hindi is of no practical use. They contend that Hindi is not learnt as a subject of general knowledge, but only as an additional medium for expressing the ideas or thoughts already formed through the mother tongue. Mother tongue is like our breath, it is an inseparable part of our own self. But Hindi is like the *cao* or turban which we use only on certain special occasions. Hence they concluded that Hindi need not be compulsorily imposed on all indiscriminately, and only those who like it or need it or who may go out of their provinces may be encouraged to study Hindi. But many others maintain that as Hindi is our Federal language, it is not only desirable but quite necessary that every citizen of free India must be Hindi-minded, and so, should be taught Hindi, so that he may enter any walk of life in his later life. We learn Algebra or Geometry not merely with a utilitarian point of view. These fundamentals are necessary to make student educated and cultured. Hence the curriculum of studies must include mother tongue, at present English, Maths, Science and History-Geography and in Independent India Hindi also.

4. In my opinion, Hindi may be made an integral part of the school curriculum and counted for class promotion from Form I to VI, (i. e. the Middle and High School Forms). There need not be a public examination in Hindi at the end of VI Form. Hindi may be made alternative to the classical languages, such as Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Latin and Greek, or to the Modern Indian languages (neighbouring or contiguous) such as Telugu for Tamil and vice versa, Kannada for Malayalis and vice versa and so on, or to the modern Asiatic languages. There will be keen competition between Sanskrit and Hindi only, as Hindi is only a grand-daughter of Sanskrit itself. This will be a healthy competition. From the cultural point of view, students may study Sanskrit and those who are attracted by the utility point of view may take to the study of Hindi.

14-11-'52

By Mahatma Gandhi

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HARIJAN

Feb. 7 1953

PLANNING FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

(*By Maganbhai P. Desai*)

The Five Year Plan (F. Y. P.) is being commented upon in various ways and from different angles. It is all good and necessary, as it will help the Planners to perfect it further and thus to make it more popular and implementable through people's co-operation.

One very vital point from which the F. Y. P. is attacked is that it does not aim at full employment but almost ignores it by considering it as secondary or unapproachable at present.

Another tactical mistake that it has made is that, while it acknowledged that "the techniques for planning link up directly with the basic approach that a community decides to adopt,. . . . (and) the approach to be adopted in India has been defined in the Directive Principles of State policy laid down in the Constitution" (The first F. Y. P. — summary p.2), it did not take up these Directive Principles one by one and decide their priorities and plan targets for them, but cut almost a new line of its own which has only very indirect relation, if at all, with those Directive Principles. To say the least, this has meant an avoidable loss of the national sentiment that could have been easily rallied round the Plan. Most of the Directive Principles embody our national constructive programme which was born of the urge for constructive work among the people, by the people and for the people, even under an alien rule. They were forged by ourselves under the leadership of the Father of the Nation. They therefore had in them an instinctive affinity with and appeal to the popular mind ; rather many people naturally want to know what Swaraj will do now for these national constructive works. The F. Y. P. is suffering from a very great loss in allowing itself to let go this natural approach in favour of another, which therefore requires to be implanted in the popular mind and imagination.

However the Directives of the Constitution are there and they have to be fulfilled by the State. Let us not therefore allow ourselves to be deviating from them.

The crux of any planning worth the name is to secure maximum wellbeing of a community, which ultimately depends on the level of production and just distribution that the community can achieve. And that level will naturally depend upon the extent and nature of employment that may be secured by that community. As we saw at the beginning, the F. Y. P. does not base itself on planning for full employment, but bases itself on the quantum of capital formation that can be expected during the next three or four years. It has therefore enunciated the following as the basis of its work.

> "The level of production and the material well-being of a community mainly depend upon the stock of capital at its disposal — the amount of land *per capita*, and of productive equipment in the shape of factories, locomotives, machinery, irrigation facilities, power installations and communications." (F. Y. P. summary, p. 2)

This has exposed it to a very natural question whether the expectations regarding capital formation will come true or no. We can form the required quantum of capital by our national savings or by borrowing from money markets here or outside. Such a way of planning for the people makes the F. Y. P. still more a business of experts and Government officials rather than of the common people. This is not to blame anybody but to see for ourselves the real position, so that we may be better able to improve it.

The main thing necessary to be done forthwith in our country is to secure full employment for our starving millions. It is the topmost priority. It was therefore that Gandhiji said, as the basis of his Sarvodaya economics, that labour also is capital and the quickest way to stabilize our economy and make it expanding also is to find ways and means to employ fully here and now all available labour in our villages which are the real cultural and economic units of our country. This is the core of our problem in planning, which we cannot allow ourselves to forget or by-pass in any way. The F. Y. P., in its own way, has acknowledged it and incorporated in itself an idea of Community Projects for our villages, although they also do not base themselves on the requirement of full employment of the villages. We therefore require a plan basing itself on this and to actually work it out as an experiment. I have before me a copy of such a plan published by the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi (5, Mansingh Road) New Delhi, ("Full Employment Plan of a Village" — 'being an outline plan for Vedchhi Village, Bardoli Tahsil, on Sarvodaya ideals'.). As the title shows, it deals with one village and presents a model which can be followed if it is worked out and found successful. It is based on the need of full employment of our villages and on the principle that labour also is capital, and if that capital can be pooled it will not only fulfil the need of money capital for a plan but also automatically secure to the plan people's enthusiasm and co-operation which are the prerequisites of success in planning. This way only can we expect the villages to change by themselves to a new level of life and labour. Such a change cannot be a mechanical thing to be brought about by any change of mechanical devices of scientific technique, though they may be useful secondarily and in their own limited manner. With this as introductory remarks, I propose from the next issue to give in suitable instalments the main conclusions of "The Full Employment Plan for a Village", even as a suggestion to the C. P. A. of India.

27-1-'53

WHAT ABOUT THE CHANGE?

(*By Maganbhai P. Desai*)

In the course of the last few weeks, we came across statements by some high dignitaries of States and educational institutions saying with tragic repetition that English should be the medium of instruction for higher education. It was surprising to see that Shri Radhakrishnan was reported to be one of them, because the University Commission over which he presided had recommended that regional languages should be the medium. However the apparent inconsistency might be reconciled by understanding that while the one is ideal the other is the present actuality.

English *is* the medium today and universities in general do not seem to feel any urgency of changing it. Perhaps top men in Government and higher education are merely voicing this conservatism. But it is not a proper attitude on their part, because it is upto them to say when and by what step they propose to change it. They owe it to the public. It is their responsibility to define it. For democracy in India requires that the change-over of the medium has to be negotiated within a reasonable period, which is stipulated to be fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution. Therefore we expect responsible people in the Government and higher education to tell us also how they propose to proceed about it.

It is a pity that the F. Y. Plan, from this point of view, does not even hint at it in any manner. It should be considered its constitutional duty to plan how the change-over will be effected before 1965, as stipulated by the Constitution of India.

30-1-'53

MESSAGE OF THE NEW 'KURUKSHETRA'

(*By C. Rajagopalachari*)

Journals of particular organizations have a tendency to become printed self-flattery, which bores the ordinary reader whom we wish to interest in us.

Any number of shadows do not make substance. Any number of desires do not make an achievement. What produces is work. Desires are good, but they must be urges from within and by being prevented from exhausting themselves in expression, made to create pressure. Recording and printing that we wish to do this, we wish to do that, we plan for this, we plan for that — is suicidal. The record must be only of what we have achieved. Let us avoid finding pleasure in and cultivating a taste for drum-beating and trumpet-blowing. It is no substitute for work.

A certain foreign style has been alluring us and destroying our old tradition of *maun* (मौन) and quiet service. Am I running counter to the general stream? I am sorry for that, but some one must warn.

Not advertisement, not beautifully illustrated journals, not noise and self-praise, but manual work will save us from shame and disaster.

Our loving mother is Earth, the mud that is waiting to be embraced. It will give us everything we want, if we work at it. Work, hard work — down at manual level. Decentralize and do not over-departmentalize. Let there be no supervisor except the internal watchman. This is the message of the new 'Kurukshetra'.*

Madras,
Shri Jayanti Day

[*Kurukshetra* is the name of a magazine started by the Community Project Administration (C. P. A.) of India as its monthly organ. The article reproduced above was the message Shri C. R. sent to the Journal at its inauguration. It tells the C. P. A. in a few beautiful words what people generally tell and talk to one another about such Government ventures in publications. These very often slip down to talking more about themselves than actual achievements. The example of 'Grow More Food' during the last five years must be noted here. There was a plethora of paper propaganda consuming scarce paper more than producing any more food. Such 'printed self-flattery' is more often an eyewash than real report of things done. It would be interesting to know how much Government spends after photos etc. to bring out 'beautifully illustrated journals' and advertise small little things casually or ceremonially done once in a while and not as a constant *yajna* that is really wanted. It would be as well Government stopped such really unnecessary and no way helpful expenditure after self-advertisement or 'printed self-flattery'. Work is its own propaganda and the surest at that; that must be enough for us.

26-1-'53 M. P.]

THE HINDUISM OF MY CONCEPTION

(*By Gandhiji*)

The Hinduism of my conception is no narrow creed. It is a grand evolutionary process as ancient as time, and embraces the teachings of Zoroaster, Moses, Christ, Mohammed, Nanak and other prophets that I could name. It is thus defined:

विद्वद्भिः सेवितः सद्भिर्नित्यमद्वेषरागिभिः ।
हृदयेनाभ्यनुज्ञातो यो धर्मस्तं निबोधत ॥

(Know that to be (true) religion which the wise and the good and those who are ever free from passion and hate follow and which appeals to the heart.)

Harijan, 8-3-'42

For me *Sanatana Dharma* is vital faith handed down from generations belonging even to prehistoric period and based upon the Vedas and the writings that followed them. For me the Vedas are as indefinable as God and Hinduism. It would be only partially true to say that the Vedas are the four books which one finds in print. These books are themselves the remnants of the discourses left by unknown seers. Those of later generations added to these original treasures according to their lights. There then arose a great and loftyminded man, the composer of the Gita. He gave to the Hindu world a synthesis of Hindu Religion, at once deeply philosophical and yet easily to be understood by any unsophisticated seeker. It is the one open book to every Hindu who will care to study it, and if all the other scriptures were reduced to ashes, the seven hundred verses of this imperishable booklet are quite enough to tell one what Hinduism is and how one can live up to it. And I claim to be a *Sanatanist* because for forty years I have been seeking literally to live up to the

* Reproduced from *Kurukshetra*, Sept. 1952.

teachings of that book. Whatever is contrary to its main theme I reject as un-Hindu. It excludes no faith and no teacher. It gives me great joy to be able to say that I have studied the Bible, the Koran, the Zend Avesta and the other scriptures of the world with the same reverence that I have given to the Gita. This reverent reading has strengthened my faith in the Gita. They have broadened my outlook and, therefore, my Hinduism. Lives of Zoroaster, Jesus and Mohammed as I have understood them have illumined many a passage in the Gita.

I take pride in calling myself a Hindu, because I find the term broad enough not merely to tolerate but to assimilate the teachings of prophets from all the four corners of the earth. I find no warrant for untouchability in this Book of Life. On the contrary it compels me, by an appeal to my heart, in language that has a magnetic touch about it, to believe that all life is one and that it is through God and must return to Him. According to the *Sanatana Dharma* taught by that venerable Mother, life does not consist in outward rites and ceremonial, but it consists in the uttermost inward purification and merging oneself, body, soul and mind, in the divine essence. I have gone to the masses in their millions with this message of the Gita burnt into my life, and they have listened to me, I am quite sure, not for any political wisdom or for eloquence, but because they have instinctively recognized me as one of them, as one belonging to their faith. As days have gone by, my belief has grown stronger and stronger that I could not be wrong in claiming to belong to *Sanatana Dharma*, and if God wills it, He will let me seal that claim with my death.

(*My Soul's Agony*, pp. 6 & 7; 4-11-'32)

THE HYDERABAD CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

[Some of the important resolutions passed by the 58th session of the Indian National Congress held at Hyderabad (Jan. 17 to 19) are reproduced below.]

1

Foreign Policy and the World Situation

The Congress views with deep concern and grave anxiety the ever growing tension and the deepening crisis in the relations between the Great Powers who have aligned themselves in rival Power Blocs, engaged in a "cold war", and poised to strike with their unprecedented armed might, ever mounting to greater dimensions and intensity, a threatening destruction to themselves and to the rest of the world.

While nations and governments are not seeking war and the peoples of the world, including those of the countries in the rival Blocs, earnestly desire peace, the accumulation of and race in armaments continue. The campaign and the psychology of hatred and distrust and the acceptance by the Great Powers, as the basis of their policy, that preparation for large scale and total war alone can lead to the prevention of war, have resulted in grave, incalculable and present risk to world peace. This has rendered the desires of the common people for peace not only ineffective, but has increasingly turned the minds of nations and peoples to the acceptance of war preparations as necessary and war itself as almost inevitable. Thus their thoughts and minds are orientated in the direction of war.

Unceasing endeavour should be made to bring about a change in the opposite direction, creating a climate of peace, and a change in the approach of nations and governments to one another, and as between groups of them, in the direction of reconciliation rather than conflict and power grouping, so that the great objectives embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and its original purposes may be attained, and war prevented.

To this end, greater interchange and freedom of intercourse between nations, particularly between those who now stand separated by the 'cold war' and by other conflicts, should be encouraged; progressive and positive action to bring about a degree of disarmament, and cessation of hostile propaganda and of campaigns of hate and suspicion, is necessary; and definite initiatives should be taken to resolve at least some of the outstanding issues which stand deadlocked in world affairs. The broadening of the United Nations Organization, by the admission of States whose applications have been pending for many years, and the representation of China being regularized by the real Government of China taking its place in the United Nations, are essential first steps of grave urgency.

The Congress appreciates the considerable achievements of the United Nations Organization in the social, economic and humanitarian field, even though they fall far short, measured against the needs and distress of mankind on the one hand and the potentialities of the earth and the advance of human knowledge on the other.

While recognizing the advance made in the colonial field during the past few years towards the liberation of subject peoples and for their welfare and progress, the Congress is of opinion that this is inadequate and deplores that some national movements for freedom are being forcibly suppressed. Colonialism, inevitably accompanied by race hatred and conflict, exploitation and international rivalry, is a continuing cause of war and human misery, and should be ended.

The Congress records its apreciation of and support to the Government of India in pursuing steadfastly unhindered by setbacks, inducements and provocations, the policy of peace and international co-operation, and non-alignment with Power Blocs, and urges the Government to continue to pursue this course which alone enables it to make positive contributions towards international understanding and world peace. It records its appreciation of the peace efforts of the Government of India in regard to the Korean war, which were non-partisan and based on international law.

The people of India, with their rich heritage and traditions and their newly-won freedom, have in this time of world crisis a duty to the cause of world peace. That duty they will best discharge by ridding themselves and their national life of all complexes of fear, intolerance, distrust and hatred, and by freeing themselves of economic dependence on others. By the performance of this duty, they will not only serve their own country but will also serve the larger causes of the world.

2

The Five Year Plan

The most important and urgent task before the country is to ensure economic advance for the nation and to raise the living standards of the people with a view to ending poverty and unemployment by greater production and equitable distribution, and thus realize the objective of social justice and equality laid down in the Constitution. To this end all the resources of the nation must be directed in a planned manner, aiming more particularly at providing employment for all, so that everyone becomes a partner in the Welfare State, sharing in its burdens and benefits alike.

The Congress welcomes the First Five Year Plan, the adoption of which is an event of great significance and promise for the people of India, as it initiates a process of planned economic development of the country with the purpose of realizing progressively the objectives aimed at. The Plan is a realistic and flexible approach to this great problem and its full implementation will lay the sound foundation of rapid progress in the future.

The Congress agrees that the programme for rural development and increase in agricultural production in respect of both food grains and industrial raw materials is of the first importance and food self-sufficiency must be realized at the earliest possible date. The Congress welcomes the recommendations in the Plan in regard to land policy and the emphasis laid on the expansion and strengthening of village and small-scale industries, and the building of the community on co-operative lines.

The Congress views the Plan as a first planned and important step designed to prepare the way for much more rapid advance on all fronts of national activity and welcomes it as the promise of the progressive fulfilment of its aims and objectives. The plan depends for its success on the co-operation of the people in the largest measure in every phase and at every stage of the process of implementation. It is a call to the country and an invitation for leadership, at all levels, to mobilize this co-operation and voluntary effort of the people. To this great enterprise and magnificent adventure of building up New India, the Congress invites all the people of the country.

3

South Africa

The Congress reiterates its admiration and its appreciation of the Satyagraha movement in South Africa against racial discrimination to which the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa are subjected by the Government of the Union.

The Congress notes with deep satisfaction that Gandhiji's message of non-violent resistance to evil has taken root in South Africa and further that in the struggle against oppression and racial violence Africans, Europeans, peoples of mixed racial descent and Indians have made common cause, thus meeting the twin evils of racial discrimination and violence by racial co-operation and non-violence.

The Government of the Union of South Africa continues to flout world public opinion even as embodied in the moderate resolutions of the United Nations Organization which only calls upon the Union Government to enter into negotiations and allow the facts of racial dscrimination to be examined. The Government of South Africa has thus given further evidence that she does not respect the principles of human rights to which the civilized world has given its approval and also that she dare not allow the light of reason or of truth to be directed to its offences against the laws of humanity and the conduct of civilized nations.

The Congress congratulates the Satyagrahis in the Union and those who co-operate with them on their courage and determination as well as on the example which they are setting of racial and communal amity and co-operation which alone can lead to stability and progress in a multi-racial society.

The Congress trusts that South Africans of Indian origin will continue to give their wholehearted support to the Satyagrahis and share their sacrifices in such ways as may be open to each one of them.

The Congress further calls upon the civilized nations and peoples of the world to look upon the courageous struggle of the Satyagrahis in South Africa as a struggle of mankind for freedom of opportunity and racial equality and tolerance carried out in the way of truth and peace, and to express their sympathy with the victims of the racial policies of the Union Government and to extend to the resisters every possible support.

4

Bhoodan Yajna

The annual session of the Indian National Congress deeply appreciates the Bhoodan Yajna movement started by Acharya Vinoba Bhave and appeals to the countrymen, specially the Congress workers, to give active support and co-operation to this movement. It also requests the Central and the State Governments to do their best for its success.

5

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan

This Congress has learnt with great concern of the continuing illness of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who has been kept in prison in Pakistan for the last five years. Khan Saheb's memory is cherished both in India and Pakistan as a man of truth and peace, and as one of the bravest and noblest soldiers of freedom, whose life has been a shining example of service and sacrifice, and who taught the brave Pathans the way of nonviolence and peaceful struggle for righteous causes. It is a grievous tragedy that the man who helped greatly in bringing freedom to India and Pakistan and whom any nation would have delighted to honour, should become a victim of the very independence that his labours helped to

bring. In the days of India's subjection to foreign rule, he spent the best years of his life in the hard prisons of the North West Frontier Province. The same prisons have claimed him even after independence, and not even his continuing and grave illness has brought him release from this unending confinement.

This Congress sends its respectful greetings and homage to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

6

Disapproval of Communal Activities

The Congress reiterates its faith in the way of peace and the methods of persuasion for the solution of outstanding problems, national and international.

In view of the repeated attempts on the part of certain groups in the country to rouse communal bitterness by the reiteration of slogans on the basis of religion which tend to turn the thoughts of men to violence and conflict, this Congress expresses its disapproval and condemnation of these activities, which retard the growth of good feeling and mutual tolerance amongst people professing different religions, to which the Congress is irrevocably pledged. The activities of these groups in regard to the minorities in East Pakistan, who suffer so much from the policy of the Pakistan Government, do not promote in any way the interests of these minorities but make the settlement of the problem more difficult, and, further, hinder the regulated and progressive rehabilitation of refugees from East Pakistan.

The Congress notes with deep regret the interference of some communal organizations in the affairs of Jammu and Kashmir State, which is fraught with grave evil, and hopes that the people of the State will not allow themselves to be misled by such propaganda, which can only lead to the disintegration of the State and most unfortunate consequences.

7

Reorganization of States

The Congress approves of the steps taken by the Government of India in the matter of the formation of a separate Andhra State. These steps are in accordance with the policy laid down in the Congress Manifesto and the Report of the Linguistic Provinces Committee appointed by the Jaipur Congress.

While confirming that policy, the Congress would draw special attention to the other factors which must be taken into consideration in any re-organization of the present States in India, such as the unity of India, national security and defence, financial considerations and economic progress, not only of the whole nation, but of each State. The successful implementation of the Five Year Plan must always be kept in view. Any further step in the direction of re-organization of States on the basis of language or any other basis will naturally depend on the stabilization of the Andhra State.

SAMPATTI-DAN PLEDGE

[Shri Vinoba's statement regarding the Sampatti-dan Yajna and some of his speeches explaining its import and significance have already appeared in the *Harijan*. The idea has attracted wide notice and a steadily growing number of people are coming forward to participate in this brave venture of building up a new and happy India. A specimen form of the pledge for the Sampatti-dan, which is reproduced below, will be found useful both by the workers and the donors. — Ed.]

Shri Vinobaji,

With a view to the furtherance and fulfilment of the economic revolution, which in its non-violent working follows the best traditions of our country, you have enjoined that in addition to land, people should now come forward to donate a sixth of their wealth and property also. This throws open the door to those also to associate themselves with your sacred mission, who could not do much so far because they did not possess land. In response to this call in the cause of Daridranarayan, I surrender the -th of my income to you and undertake to devote the same every year to social welfare work in such manner as you may desire me to do.

I will continue to send in regularly the annual account of my income to you or to the agent or body which you may empower for the said purpose.

I accept the responsibility of keeping whatever amount of money may accrue to the donated share in safe custody and to spend it according to your instructions.

To this pledge willingly undertaken I as the Antaryami i. e. the Inner Guide in me, am myself a witness. I am conscious that I have to be faithful to my Antaryami.

May God help me.

Attached herewith please find the statement of my wealth and property.

Sd.

Date : ————

Full Name : ————————

Address : ————————

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